

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 IO-11 EA-07 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 OMB-01 /096 W

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8020

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, AU

SUBJECT: FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTION OF REISKY'S KEYNOTE SPEECH
TO SOVIALIST PARTY CONGGESS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN BROAD-RANGING SPEECH MARCH 12
TO SOCIALIST PURTY CONGRESS, KREISKY DISCUSSED RECENT
DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA AND AUSTRIA'S FOREIGN
POLICY APPROACH IN DEALING WITH THEM. AMONG TOPICS DISCUSSED
WERE AUSTRIA'S DETENTE POLICY, POLITICAL SITUATION IN
WESTERN EUROPE, OPPOSITION TO CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA, WORLD COM-

MUNIST MOVEMENT AND SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST
COOPERATION. KREISKY AGAIN RAISED HIS IDEA OF
"MARSHALL PLAN FOR DEVELOPING WORLD" AND FOR FIRST TIME
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PROPOSED MEETING BETWEEN U.S. PRESIDENT AND LEADERS OF

EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES, INCLUDING BY IMPLICATION AUSTRIA,
FOLLOWING FALL ELECTIONS IN U.S. END SUMMARY.

2. AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CHAIRMAN AND CHANCELLOR BRUNO KREISKY DELIVERED TWO-HOUR KEYNOTE SPEECH ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS THEMES TO 23RD SOCIALIST PARTY (SPO) CONGRESS HELD VIENNA, MARVH 11-13. SIGNIFICANCE OF SPEECH LAY IN MAJOR EMPHASIS GIVEN TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS WITH FOCUS ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS OF CONCERN TO WESTERN EUROPE AND ON AUSTRIA'S FOREIGN POLICY. SUMMARY OF HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOWS.

3. POLICY OF DETENTE: ACCORDING TO KREISKY, POLICY OF DETENTE IN EUROPE BEGAN WITH SIGNING OF 1955 AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY. AUSTRIA'S GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION MAKES DETENTE FOR AUSTRIA A MUST AND THEREFORE AUSTRIA LOGICALLY WAS MAJOR SUPPORTER OF CSCE UNDERTAKING. DETENTE IN EUROPE HOWEVER IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF BALANCE OF POWER OF SUPER POWERS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AND, BY IMPLICATION, MAINTAINED. KREISKY NOTED DIFFICULTIES IN ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN MBFR TALKS BUT SUGGESTED, WITHOUT OFFERING RATIONALE, THAT AGREEMENT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IN NEXT FEW MONTHS. GIVEN ABSENCE OF ANY VIABLE ALTERNATIVE AUSTRIA WILL, ACCORDING TO KREISKY, "CONTINUE TO PURSUE WITH GREATEST REALISM, BUT ALSO WITH GREATER CONSEQUENCE, POLICY OF DETENTE."

4. SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE: KREISKY NOTED "BREEZE OF PESSIMISM" NOW ROLLING OVER DEMOCRATIC WORLD. HE CONTINUED THAT OBSERVATION REPORTEDLY MADE BY KISSINGER THAT WESTERN EUROPE WILL BECOME MARXIST, THAT IS COMMUNIST, IN NEXT TEN YEARS IS BEING EXPLOITED BY CONSERVATIVES, SUCH AS CSU LEADER STRAUSS, FOR PARTISAN POLITICAL PURPOSES. SUCH PESSIMISM OVER FUTURE IS HOWEVER NOT JUSTIFIED ACCORDING TO KREISKY'S ANALYSIS, WHICH NOTES THAT EUROPE HAS BEEN EXPANDED BY TWO MORE DEMOCRACIES (GREECE AND PORTUGAL) AND ANOTHER COUNTRY (SPAIN) IS HOPEFULLY MOVING IN SAME DIRECTION.

5. OPPOSITION TO CUBAN INTERVENTION: KREISKY DENOUNCED IN STRONGEST WORDS TO DATE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND BY IMPLICATION THAT OF SOVIET UNION. HE SAID "WHILE WE ARE FIRMLY FOR DETENTE, WE ARE JUST AS FIRMLY AGAINST CUBAN UNITS APPEARING IN VARIOUS PLACES AS WILD HORDES OF COMMUNIST INTERVENTIONISM, ROAMING ALL OVER AFRICA, AND POSSIBLY INTERVENING IN INTERNAL DISPUTES OF STATES. LET US SAY IT AGAIN: IT IS A GHASTLY IDEA THAT CUBANS SHOULD FORM A PERMANENT TASK FORCE IN AFRICA. THIS WOULD CREATE ON THAT CONTINENT SUCH A DEGREE OF UNREST

THAT CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPE AND AFRICA COULD NOT EVEN BE CONSIDERED. YET WE MUST SAY WITH ALL CLARITY: CUBAN SOLDIERS OUTSIDE CUBA SEEM JUST AS UNACCEPTABLE TO US AS DO SOUTH AFRICANS OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. KREISKY DESCRIBED SITUATION IN AFRICA AS BECOMING DANGEROUS AND SUGGESTED UN MUST PLAY ROLE IN DEFUSING IT.

6. WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: KREISKY DESCRIBED SOVIET UNION'S POLICY OF DETENTE AS BEING BASED ON VERY REALISTIC CONSIDERATIONS AND THAT ONE OF THESE WAS SOVIET RELATIONSHIP TO CHINA. AT SAME TIME HE CAUTIONED ABOUT AVOIDING UNTHINKABLE BY NOTING THAT AS WORLD WAS SURPRISED TO LEARN ONE DAY OF VISIT OF U.S. PRESIDENT TO PEKING, IT COULD ALSO BE SURPRISED ONE DAY BY ARRIVAL IN PEKING OF SOVIET DELEGATION.

7. ON DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN FRANCE AND ITALY, KREISKY CONTINUED HIS HERETOFORE CAUTIONARY APPROACH TO SUBJECT BY INDICATING THAT NO ONE TODAY CAN PREDICT EVENTUAL COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS. REJECTION BY THESE PARTIES OF CERTAIN MARXIST-LENINIST FORMULAE, WHILE INEXPENSIVE FOR THEM POLITICALLY, SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS DEFEAT FOR CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN EUROPE. DOUBT IS NEVERTHELESS FULLY JUSTIFIED WHETHER TRANSFORMATION TAKING PLACE IS REAL ONE.

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R 160743Z MAR 76

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QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLES SHOULD THEREFORE BE PUT TO CPF
AND CPI AGAIN AND AGAIN AND UNEQUIVOCAL ANSWERS SHOULD
BE DEMANDED. IN HIS ANALYSIS OF THIS PROCESS OF CHANGE,
KREISKY SUGGESTED THAT PRESSURES BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT
WITHIN CPI AND CPF ON EVOLVING POLICY LINE MIGHT
LEAD TO RUPTURES WITHIN OR BREAKUP OF PARTIES AS ONE
POSSIBILITY AND TOWARD SPREAD OF POLYCENTRISM
OF YUGOSLAV VARIETY AS ANOTHER.

8. SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST RELATIONSHIP IN WESTERN EUROPE:
KREISKY POSED RHETORICAL QUESTION WHETHER AT TIME WHEN
CPS IN WEST EUROPE ARE GIVING UP LONG-HELD LENINIST
PRINCIPLES AND OFFERING TO ENGAGE AS PARTNER IN DEMOCRATIC
CLASH OF IDEAS, SUCH DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED
BY SOCIALISTS AS CAUSE FOR PESSIMISM. KREISKY SUGGESTED
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OPPOSITE WAS TRUE BUT SIDESTEPED CRUCIAL ISSUE OF
SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COOPERATION IN GOVERNMENTS IN WESTERN
EUROPE BY NOTING THAT THERE NEVER HAS BEEN AND CANNOT
BE GENERAL POSITION FOR SOCIALIST PARTIES ON THIS ISSUE.
EACH PARTY MUST DETERMINE FOR ITSELF FORMULATION OF
ITS DOMESTIC POLITICAL POLICY, WHICH ACCORDS WITH GENERAL
APPROACH OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

9. AFRICA: IN KREISKY'S VIEW, ONLY A EUROPE IN STATE
OF DETENTE CAN PLAY IMPORTANT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ROLE
OUTSIDE EUROPE, ABOVE ALL IN AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST.
SUCH ROLE MUST ALSO HAVE MULTILATERAL COMPONENT AND
WITH THIS IN MIND AUSTRIA HAS ALREADY PUT FORWARD IN
VARIOUS FORA (OECD, UNIDO) PROPOSALS FOR DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAM. ACCORDING TO KREISKY, RESPONSES HAVE BEEN
SYMPATHETIC AND AUSTRIA HAS BEEN ASKED TO WORK UP DETAILS
ON PROPOSAL. (COMMENT: KREISKY HAS PUT FORWARD
REPEATEDLY ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS IN LAST TWO YEARS IDEA
OF WHAT HE TERMS "MARSHALL PLAN FOR THIRD WORLD" AND HAS
SOUGHT TO OBTAIN SUPPORT OF INDUSTRIALIZED WESTERN STATES
FOR HIS PLAN. GOA IS STRONGLY PUSHING PROPOSAL AND
ACCORDING TO LATEST DEVELOPMENT UNIDO IS NOW SEIZED WITH

PLAN (VIENNA 2014) END COMMENT.)

10. MIDDLE EAST: KREISKY'S OBSERVATIONS ON MIDDLE EAST WERE GENERAL, BRIEF AND BALANCED AND CONTAINED NO SUGGESTIONS OF PRO-ARAB TILT OF WHICH HE HAS BEEN ACCUSED BY SOME PARTY MEMBERS. HE STATED AUSTRIA IS NOT INTERESTED IN MEDIATOR ROLE AND FULLY UNDERSTANDS ISRAEL ATTITUDE IN THIS RESPECT. PROBLEM IS HOWEVER SO IMPORTANT AND SERIOUS THAT IT CANNOT BE LOOKED UPON AS SOLELY CONCERNING POLITICS IN MIDDLE EAST. AUSTRIA DESIRES PEACEFUL SOLUTION WHICH ASSURES EXISTENCE OF ISRAELI STATE BUT WHICH ALSO DEALS WITH PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

11. U.S. SCENE: KREISKY VENTURED VALUE JUDGMENT ABOUT U.S. SCENE THAT CLEAN-UP PROCESS IN U.S. AGAINST MALFEASANCE IN OFFICE AND CORRUPTION IN BUSINESS PRACTICES WOULD RESULT ULTIMATELY IN STRENGTHENING U.S. AND THAT EUROPEANS WHO DENOUNCED SUCH ACTIONS AS NEEDLESS SELF-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FLAGELLATION WERE LACKING IN DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT. KREISKY PROPOSED THAT EXTENSIVE TALKS BE HELD BETWEEN U.S. PRESIDENT AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AFTER FALL ELECTIONS IN U.S. AND THAT THESE TALKS WOULD BE "EVEN MORE MEANINGFUL IF CARRIED OUT NOT ONLY WITH MEMBERS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BUT ALSO WITH OTHERS (E.G. AUSTRIA) WHO ALSO BELONG TO EUROPE". IN PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING SPEECH KREISKY INDICATED AUSTRIA WOULD BE HAPPY TO SERVE AS SITE FOR SUCH MEETING. (COMMENT: KREISKY PROPOSAL REFLECTS WHAT AUSTRIA FEELS TO BE ITS INCREASING PSYCHOLOGICAL ISOLATION FROM DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN WESTERN EUROPE WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND NATO FORAS AND WHICH AUSTRIA FEELS AFFECT IMPORTANT AUSTRIAN NATIONAL INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY IN ECONOMIC SPHERE. IN PAST AUSTRIA HAS TENDED TO CITE ITS OWN NEUTRALITY AS JUSTIFICATION FOR AVOIDING SOME OF BURDENS IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA. KREISKY PROBABLY ENVISAGES HIS PROPOSAL AS MEANS OF KEEPING AUSTRIA'S INTERESTS BEFORE U.S. AND MAJOR WEST EUROPEAN POWERS AND OF PERSONALLY ALLOWING CHANCELLOR TO PLAY BIGGER ROLE ON INTERNATIONAL SCENE. HIS PROPOSAL WILL NO DOUBT GENERATE NEGATIVE REACTION FROM EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, ABOVE ALL SOVIET UNION, AS TO COMPATIBILITY OF HIS PROPOSAL WITH AUSTRIA'S POSITION AS NEUTRAL. END COMMENT.)BUCHANAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, PARTY MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SPEECHES, PARTY LEADERS, COMMUNISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976VIENNA02041
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760099-0587, D760098-0789
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760354/aaaabvod.tel
Line Count: 272
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CT: FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTION OF REISKY'S KEYNOTE SPEECH TO SOVIALIST PARTY CONGGESS
TAGS: PFOR, AU, (KREISKY, BRUNO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006